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*[For information on relations between the Masai and the British government, and with other tribes, see Category 116, pp. 1-5, 9-44, 49-108, 110-112, 113-131, 176-178, 180-185, 223-224, and 227-229.]*

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



A tribe coming from the north like the Masai, and possibly at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primaeval African stock but a degeneration of some other race. Still, the accounts which we have of the Bari and Dinka ascribe to them the same vague belief in a supernatural power, which most inquirers have reported as existing among the Masai, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

The history of the Masai, as far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural sections, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the race, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and raiding for subsistence. The herds suffered severely from plague in the eighties, and the advent of Europeans and the gradual introduction of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless from at least 1850 to the early eighties the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1859 they raided Vanga, on the coast near the present German frontier. Thomson (*Through Masai Land*, 1885) describes how, in 1883, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole caravan, including himself, as if they had been masters and the travellers slaves. This period of triumph was succeeded by one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and small-pox human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortunes. The numbers of the Masai were undoubtedly greatly reduced, and at present those found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 25,000 to 12,500. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 7,500 in the

[1] See Hildebrandt, *Die Dinka-Sprache*, 1888, p. 46, &c. It is true that some expressions ascribed to the Dinka, such as 'We do not know—the wise men know,' might be interpreted as a consciousness of the loss of traditions.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



Naivasha province and 5,000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro.

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1830 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Gallas and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1850 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two vilages called Great and Little Enjámusi at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called L-Osigella or Segelli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1889, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Nairobi about 1890 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Enjámusi, the Burkeneji, and perhaps the people of Samburu in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturalists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning plains. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kaputiei (Kapite plains), Ilo-alpesho (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and L-Aikipyak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12



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423 clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[29] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

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682 The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[30] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?"[31] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[32] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAGUIRE on the penal code of the Masai.[33]

614 One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

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175 The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one *laibon* was recognised as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[29] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 120.
[30] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 122; FOSBROOKE, l. c., pp. 43 s.
[31] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 66, 1936, p. 309.
[32] HOBLEY, l. c.
[33] MAGUIRE, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 38, 1938, pp. 13 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12



the Central Council being the Appeal Court. In the thirties, the system was again modified, and there are now two regularly constituted tribunals in each of the two Kenya Districts, Narok and Kajiado, in the Masai reserve, and an Appeal Tribunal in each district. It Tanganyika changes came later. Only in 1938 the Paramount Chief was abolished and a new system introduced. There is now a Masai Council, acting as the Appeal Court from the six Local Courts established under the authority of a Headman. Lord HAILEY, commenting on the Tanganyika system, remarks that "the whole of the juridical organisation seems on a tentative basis, and in practice it functions irregularly, owing to the nomadic habits of the people". This is more or less true also for Kenya. It is a fact that, in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Masai never accepted the authority of the *laibon* or prophet in terms of Paramount Chief, and that they dislike the idea of a formally established court. [1] Nomadism, as Lord HAILEY points out, has much to do with this attitude of the Masai, but it is their social structure which has no place for such institutions. Whatever political authority exists among the Nasai, it is established on the structural basis of the age-system. This system has a dynamic character which can hardly be reconciled with the rigidity of any administrative system imposed from above by the Governement.

The institution of the Masai prophet has been described by FOSBROOKE, p. 13. He distinguishes three types of *laibon*. "First there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remunerations, will perform such service as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such prac-

[1] Writing of the Native Authority System in Kenya after 1918, Lord HAILEY says in *Native Administration in the British African Territories*. Part I — *East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika*, London 1950, p. 171, "these Tribunal were not generally recognised by the Masai who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headman or Elders". And with regard to the *new Development for native* p. 178, that "the preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists". He makes a similar comment for Tanganyika on p. 894: "in the Masai District the majority of the issues arising between the tribesmen are settled by arbitration".

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12



881 "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".[79] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

*b*) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator [648] is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai.[80]

881 304 Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Baoge).[81] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *esg alipata*, after which he is allowed to speak.

881 [591] The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the [594] boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[595] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not so precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[79] We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. Fosbrooke states that "prior to circumcision [834] no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

[80] Cfr. the election of the *Oi Oi ogoine* at the *Eunkoiuni*; of the *oi emei* boys, the *oiguenani*, and the *mejeugnua* at the *Endeugere-Esplbata*; of the *oi ewanai* at the *uasin*.

[81] [33] Leakey states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Masai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Masai culture.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo



*E'-TOOSHO*: ASSAULT

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Resulting in the loss of an eye—no penalty.

Resulting in the tearing of an ear-lobe—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the loss or breaking of a tooth—a fine of one ewe.

Resulting in the breaking of a bone—an ox of the offender's (he may not have been the aggressor originally) is slaughtered then and there, and all partake of it. The injured man must not see the skin of the slaughtered ox. At the same time, a fine of one heifer is inflicted, but if the injured man should [682] die before this has been handed over, twenty and nine cattle may have to be paid subsequently by his slayer.[1]

To strike a man with an arrow, a club, spear, sword, or knife would result in the imposition of a fine of one fat sheep or one ox, according to the extent of the cuts or other injuries inflicted.

The preceding penalties refer to Masai only. If the murdered man be a Bantu or savage (*Ol-meeki*), and if he was known to [681] and a friend of the Masai, twenty and nine cattle must be paid [689] to his relatives. In the case of the murder of or assault on a [682] stranger, no penalty is laid down.

The reiteration of the number nine in the fines prescribed may be explained as follows. A certain round number of cattle is settled upon as fine or compensation. To this number (generally twenty or forty) must be added nine more for the body of the murdered man, in order to wipe out the stain of blood which lies between the rival parties. These nine cattle are accounted for according to the orifices of the human body, thus two for the ears; two for the eyes; two for the nose; one for the mouth; one for the urethra and one for the anus.

*'NYAMIN*: THEFT

Theft of any kind is almost unknown among the Masai, but 685 if one Masai should steal cattle from another, the thief must pay five beasts for each beast stolen, the sex of the animals paid depending on the sex of the stolen beasts. If sheep are

[1] See Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 312.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Chagga FN4



C 123 622 Mandara's cupidity, and soon I found I had to reckon with mine host. Of course I quite understood that in bringing him down I could not possibly send him off empty-handed; so I made up a present, consisting of a Snider, a revolver, four flasks of gunpowder, one piece of American cotton, one of blue cloth, and several gaudy-coloured cloths. Thinking I had done very handsomely, I called him into the tent and with much satisfaction showed him my present. An ominous whistle, as he brought his eye to bear upon my treasures, and an expression of contempt on his face soon brought me to my senses. "Were these," he scornfully inquired, "the presents for his askari who had accompanied him? or did I mean to offer him a Zanzibar-made gun only fit for a porter?" Having thus unburdened himself, he turned his back and marched out of the tent, leaving me staring blankly at the rejected gift. To my men outside he said, "Why had I shown him all my things, if I did not mean to give him some? What did he care for coast goods? He had plenty of them! What he wanted was European articles befitting his greatness!" I sent Muhinna and Makatubu after him, with a government Snider and some more cloth, but though they returned without these articles, they brought only veiled threats that unless he received satisfaction he would play the deuce with us in a manner that would not please us. He had bought down a fat bullock with him in the morning, and he took care to let us know that we had better not touch it.

Here was a proper quandary to get into! For well I knew that Mandara's threats were not empty words. He could without a doubt irretrievably "smash up" the caravan in the dense forests of he Kahè if we attempted to go on without his leave, and without a guide. At that moment he had over 1000 [C41] Wa-kwafi, his allies from Mount Meru, staying with him, preparing for an attack on a neighbouring state; combining his own men with these, he could place over 2000 of the most daring warriors in all that region in the field.

Next morning, therefore, perceiving the gravity of the situation, I with much reluctance got out my own trusty double-barrelled smooth-bore, which I had carried on my two previous expeditions, a steel box, a suit of thick tweed complete, a pair of shoes which I mentally wished I could compel him to wear, and a few more articles. Feeling in a very unenviable mood at thus being made involuntarily the instrument for introducing the manifold blessings of European civilised

6: Thomson K-3. (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12



726 ever, a party had been sent to the chief lybon of the Masai —Mbaration—to seek advice as to the time of their start, and to procure medicines to make them successful. On their return the party mustered, and set off. It was a remarkable sight to behold these bloated young cut-throats on the march, and it is almost an impossibility to convey any clear picture of their appearance in words. The Frontispiece illustration, however, will help to some extent.

714 726 Let us pause and in imagination watch some enthusiastic young ditto buckling on the armour of her knight. First there is tied round his neck, whence it falls in flowing lengths, the *nâiberè*,—a piece of cotton, six feet long, two feet broad, with a longitudinal stripe of coloured cloth sewed down the middle of it. Over his shoulders is placed [237] a huge cape of kite's feathers—a regular heap of them. The kid-skin garment which hangs at his shoulder is now folded up, and tied tightly round his waist like a belt, so as [302] to leave his arms free. His hair is tied into two pigtails, one before and one behind. On his head is placed a remarkable object formed of ostrich feathers stuck in a band of leather, the whole forming an elliptically-shaped head-gear. This is placed diagonally in a line beginning under the lower lip and running in front of the ear to the crown. His legs are ornamented with flowing hair of the colobus, resembling wings. His bodily adornment is finished off by the customary plastering of oil. His simè or sword is now attached—it does not hang—to his *right* side; and through the belt is pushed the skull-smasher or knobkerry, which may be thrown at an approaching enemy, or may give the quietus to a disabled one. His huge shield in his left hand and his great spear in his right complete his extraordinary equipment. For the rest you must imagine an Apollo-like form and the face of a fiend, and you have before you the beau-ideal of a Masai warrior. He takes enormous pride in his weapons, and would part with everything he has rather than his spear. He glories in his scars, as the true laurel and decorative marks of one who delights in battles.

726 [648] With astonishing hardihood, Moran and his comrades, thus terribly arrayed, shaped their course towards Swahili-land; for, strangely enough, they have found that they can lift the cattle with greater impunity there than anywhere else—in spite of the Swahili guns and a large population. The reason is the complete absence of anything like patriot-ism or public spirit among the coast people. Their argument

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12



the property of the successful warriors. A warrior can have no property, and hence they all become his father's.

The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—those being considered worthy of all praise "who *rush* into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*;" while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

In this manner, Moran saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Galla-land, the Coast region, Sük, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilised fashion. Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilised countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

As a mild relief, and a variation from these serious matters, it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Moran to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened this one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull of a third into jelly. The sausage and the beads he re-

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12



the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area of 47 square miles (known locally as Olenguruone) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

## THE MASAI TRIBE

Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with an estimated population of 51,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 633 to 674 of the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1948, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "as long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939-45, page 19. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1947, page 19 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter XIII, page 180.

[3] Cmd. 4556 (1934), page 180. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 90 dated 17 April, 1948. The Agreement of 1911 is printed on page 511 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12



as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) " without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe."

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Kenya Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions been assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918.

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Morans) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (ariki) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own " Councillors " (L'Aigonak) chosen from among the Morans.

The Morans had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligations save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, " drank milk " and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, " the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare.

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alamal) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. *Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the* period at which youths become Morans, or Morans become Elders or the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Morans were concerned, and the situation

[1] Introduction to The Masai by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 89 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

?: Hailey C-4 (No date) 1950 F112 Masai FL12



was further complicated by the fact that at short intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the peers of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Men of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

## THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and aroused in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but in subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented to set for this purpose.[3]

In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, to assent of the Masai was required for this transfer, and the operation was not of obvious difficulty. In the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

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1. The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word Ol-aiboni (pl. Il-aiboni). See Hollis, The Masai, 1905, page 28.
2. Land Commission Report, Cmd. 3 of 1934, page 265.
3. The Laikipia Reserve contained 2,000 square miles. An addition of 8,500 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

7: Mailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL.12 Masai FL.12



by the Government as the Paramount Chief of the Masai, a title which was in 1911 continued to his son Sogi. It was as Paramount Chief that Sogi, through his Regent Legalishu, signed the Agreement of 1911, which recorded the acceptance by the Masai of the move from Laikipia to the Southern Reserve. 175 648 991

But Lenana himself never seems to have claimed a position of sovereignty, nor was it ever accorded to him by the tribe. Sogi proved to be lacking in the qualities of his father, and such influence as he possessed was confined to the small Section of which he was a member, while the more important Sections, such as the Purko, either refused to recognize him or treated him with contempt. In 1918, therefore, the Government withdrew his recognition as Paramount Chief. Apart, however, from any question of the personal capacity of Sogi, it is obvious that the social structure of the Masai had no place for the conception of chieftship in the form existing in the traditional organization of those Bantu tribes which have a "centralized" system of Government. In the latter, the fundamental principle is the recognition of a tribal head, with authority devolved on territorial subchiefs, and supported on the allegiance of headmen representing either kinsmen groups or village units. In such an organization the authority possessed by the headmen is an essential an element as that of the Chief and his subchiefs—a fact which is sometimes overlooked by those whose contact with a tribe is primarily through these more conspicuous figures. All these features of the normal Bantu tribal organization were wanting in the structure of Masai society.

Following the abolition of the post of Paramount Chief in 1918, the Government endeavoured to find agencies for local administration in the protection of these institutions, a Central Masai Council, a series of 14 Native Councils each representing a different tribal Section, and Headmen, created as far as possible on the model of the Lumbwa Headmen found elsewhere in the Colony. The Central Masai Council at Ngong was composed of the presidents of the Native Councils and was to meet twice a year. The 14 Native Councils were designed to take the place of the informal Councils of Elders to which reference has previously been made. They were recognized as tribunals exercising powers under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1913, and were moreover given the position occupied by Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance then in force (No. 20 of 1912). The members of these Councils consisted of the recognized Counsellors (*L'oiguenak*) of the different Age Grades in the divisions, with a few of the more influential Elders and Morans added. Morans *L'oiguenak* were not ordinarily admitted to these Councils of Elders, but as the Elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Morans, it was thought that the appointment of their leading warriors might help to improve the situation. These appointments could, however, only be temporary, owing to the custom already mentioned, under which an Age Grade of Morans held its position only for a specified period in each Section, giving place to a new Age Grade at the end of that time. The presidents of these Councils were chosen from the *L'oiguenak* by the Masai themselves. 175 648 623

The greatest difficulty was, as foreseen at the time, encountered in regard to the appointment of Headmen. These were not necessarily Elders, but were chosen as possessing wealth or influence, and were given the position accorded to headmen by the Native Authority Ordinance no of 1912. But there were two obstacles to their effective discharge of these powers. The units which they were selected to control were not Locations with a settled population, as in most other parts of Kenya, but groups of semi-nomadic tribesmen, and their 175 648 623.

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authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Morans. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 36, of whom 18 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

## SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and dairy has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Morans in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1950 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

The 18 Headmen have a pay ranging from 175. to 70s. a month, and the 18 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 30s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, organized and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

## THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 15 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 163.

7: Hailey C-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12



Kilimanjaro are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section 1.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

### THE MASAI DISTRICT

The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 115 million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,000 in Kenya and as 51,076 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1850 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Ulanga in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions have directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

The *Anglo-German Agreement of 1890* cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war purposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover nothing in the case of the Tanganyika Masai to motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for preventing their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast farmyard plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. To the south, south of the B.B. Mail, the plateau type of country is characterised by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral purposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once

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[1] See page 1-5.
[2] Page 100, Chapter 7.
[3] See the Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, C. W. Hobley, 1919

grade system. In session of six senior Wankili, or age grade leaders, from the three effective age grades, six deputy Wankili and eighteen Wanyoro on Nyeri, elected citizens of standing and authority (three from each age grade). These thirty men comprise the Kyama Council and elect their own speaker. The functions of the Kyama are similar to those of the Engipenoni described above. The election of the Junior is in the hands of the Kyama but they must reach a unanimous decision on the subject.

The elected Speaker of each Kyama kya Mwanga and three other Wankili chosen by the Kyama sit on the Kyama kya Uruku, which is in effect a Tribal Council, fulfilling the functions of the lower Kyama but on a tribal level. In addition the Government reserves the right to nominate six members. The Kyama kya Uruku elects six Wankili each year on the Chief's Council to assist him in all his duties. One of these is the Kyama's Speaker.

The Ayaka and Mavi Chiefs are not united in any formal manner, but there is a single Treasury for the whole District.

THE MEGILA NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Mbulu District the four Native Authorities shown in the statement bear a variety of titles, Wiseniaru in the case of the Mbulu (Iraqw) and Gorowa (Fiome), Mtemi in that of the Barabaig (Mbugwe), and Mbugwe in the case of the Mbugwe. One of the Iraqw chiefdoms has a large jurisdiction, extending to 25,600 taxpayers, but it is said that only one tribe, that of the Gorowa (Fiome), has had any strong tradition of chiefship. Here the chiefdom has been in the hands of a Muslim ruling family of more advanced status than the pagan peasantry, and the chiefdom is in that case hereditary. Among the Iraqw (Mbulu) and Barabaig the administrative structure is built on the clan, and the chiefship is an innovation. Among the Mbugwe, authority was formerly vested in spiritual functionaries known as Wawongozi, whose position had something in common with that of the Laibon of the Masai.[1] The method by which Chiefs in these three tribes are now chosen is described as that of "popular discussion and acclamation." Only one of the Chiefs is said to show any strong personality or ability, and only two are literate.

The sub-chiefdoms bear the title of Gawar or Sagwidam, the Headmen that of Tatwan, Bartlawi or Mtwana. Both sub-chiefs and Headmen are chosen by the Chiefs in consultation with their Elders in local meetings.

The difference in tribal composition is reflected in the attitude of the Chiefs on the subject of union for joint purposes, for they have not as yet united in any formal federation, and there appears to be opposition to closer union. There was formerly no combined Native Treasury for the District, as each Native Authority maintained its own Treasury. As from 1st January, 1949, however, the Chiefs of Iraqw, Gorowa and Mbugwe agreed to combine their Treasuries but the Barabaig Treasury remained separate.

THE MASAI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

The Masai District has presented a problem of peculiar difficulty in the application of the Native Authority system, and it would be an advantage if the observations made here were read in connection with those made on the similar problems in the Masai Country of the Kenya Colony.[2] As there also the central feature of Masai society has been a well developed system of age-

[1] See page 286.
[2] See page 191, Chapter IX.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisanko



junior ages are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where similar conditions pertain.

C. **Recent History: Famine — civil war — German Policy.**

Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1880 to 1890 is regarded by the Masai as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at this time; it was he who called up the Moito Masai to fight the Uasingishu and Laikipiak sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes: the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the "Administrative History".

But about 1890 the Masai were visited by the triple misfortune of famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture; in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was in fact scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their earnings or stealings commenced to build up new herds.

During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purko and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Nairobi, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita beat in turn the Laitayok, Salei and Serenget of the Lolimodo area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kisongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Olmoing. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Lemagrosi, but later returned to Ngorongoro. When below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans, and also with the Kisongo, supported by the Purko. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement; the Kisongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Lenana, who agreed to send his Purko from the north, via Lolimodo, whilst the Kisongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, he saw that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Lenana to admit defeat. Lenana allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German Government pursued in relation to the Masai. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Masai of Tanganyika, being scattered by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Moshi—Arusha—Mbugwe road was therefore thought sufficient as a Masai Reserve, and the objective was to keep Mondul, Longido, Ngorongoro and Lolimodo areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Ndaragwa Loita of Lolimodo, the Salei and Serenget west of the Rift, the Mwenedot of north Moru and Mondul, the Sighirari of Sanya and the Matapato of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when this policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko



reassemble and return, each to its own area. But the Moilo section seems to have flourished above all others and penetrated, during and after the war, into areas which had never before been in its possession.

The details of this period of famine, civil war and European intervention have not been recorded at length, but it is hoped that sufficient has been said to drive home the point that the period 1890 to 1920 was one of great upheaval for the Tanganyika Masai. The most obvious effect of this was the break-up and submergence of many of the sections, together with the loss of the loyalties which held those sections together and generally of political cohesion. Only time can bring about a reorientation in accordance with the present distribution of population.

Another aspect of the above historical review should also be borne in mind. It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

For clarity this historical section is concluded with a chronological chart showing the main events and personalities referred to.

**CHRONOLOGICAL CHART.**

| *Age* | *Approx. date of circumcision.* | *Important Events.* |
|---|---|---|
| DIYOGI | 1778 | Members of this age can be remembered by living elders. Subet belonged to this age. |
| KISARUNI | 1791 | Masai penetrated to Usagara. |
| MERISHARI | 1800 | Conquered Manyara from Adorr. |
| KIDOTU | 1821 | Took Naberera from the Kwavi. Kikoin (the original Wiaruaha) brought up from Aruaha Chini. Capture of Engaruka. |
| DWATI | 1836 | Captured Lolkeme, Moilo and Kibaya from Kwavi. Drove Datwa from Ngorongoro Highlands. Mbatian belonged to this age. |
| NYANGUSI | 1851 | One or two members of this age still alive. Took Karatu from Datwa. Death of Subet. |
| LAIMER | 1866 | Moilo Masai called up by Mbatian for Lalkipiak war. Capture of Talamai and Kitoto. |
| DALALA | 1881 | Peace made between Masai and Kwavi at Ruvu. Death of Mbatian. Famine, rinderpest and smallpox. Lenana and Sendeyo belonged to this age. |
| DWATI | 1896 | Civil war between Lenana and Sendeyo. First contact with European administration. Parrit promoted to this age, though actually Dareto. |

9:Foobrooke G-5 (1936-1968) 1968 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko



*After* going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry short bladed spears (*orubore ure*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned.

On return to their kraal those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal home; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters.

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a *moran*. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the *moran* by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the home, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the *morans* have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any home. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in ol pul, the camp at which the *morans* may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his *moran* son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the *morans* exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the homes making their demands must have been considerably curtailed.

*Another duty, or rather, restriction* placed on the *morans* was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of *morans* are not infrequent.

The above largely refers to the unmarried *morans*; once they settle down, even before the upraiser ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the *morans* are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

## Preface.

[174] [175] In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted, since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

[22] Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

[24] These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

[101] The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Rift Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names). They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

## Part I.—Circumcision.

[174] *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,* and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its ears are ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood see Part IX.) From the day of birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

[196] *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they are run about, and unlike some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any

* There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1938) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya



C34 *Boyhood, the Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys.

[C4] Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had no offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four cows.

[C5] The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the *Il-Piron* generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

*Il-Piron* means a foreskin, and its significance is explained below under explanation of generations and ages.

*Ceremony of Setting the Go by the Horns.*—The Masai call this ceremony *Enkobaart e-Ol-Gieng*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Gieng* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kabenyoki section. I have not seen it performed.

[C1] *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a gourdskin. Six bulls were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circumcised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany.

[C4] [C5] As soon as the operation was finished cow manure was put on the boy's back by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to report the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where the boy sat about on a bed, while an elder entertained ourselves with honey wine. [D13] The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period.

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by bushes through a gourd through the wall.

C41 *The Seclusion.*—Hereabouts the novices do not seem to remain in this stage till 178 all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

*As stated above, Ol Piron means a foretick.* I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance.

*Manyatas.*—The unit is the unit for a single manyatta, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one manyatta for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *Il Oiwan.*

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and manyattas were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have manyattas provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision.

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the manyattas, and as there are only a few of these to be seen there.

A manyatta usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

*Age Life.*—The word written by Mr. Leakey (*mirabia*) would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Paraki ipuk*. *Paraki* is a second person singular imperative of a distinct word (see Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Ipuk* means "on" or "at."

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so ordained he usually builds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding.

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to seize an uninitiated girl to ravish, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "shed his spear."

*The Il Oiwan Ceremony.*—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya



warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the *E-Unoto* ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough.

*Milk Drinking by Warriors.*—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows:—

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men come to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their *Il Piron*. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut *see* p. 632 *ff.*) He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Drinking after a drink of milk is a sign of rejection and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

*O-Ky'aker of Milk.*—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pig-tail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-Unoto* owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Purko, most of the *Il-Sidimoi* have already performed their milk (*O-Ky'aker*, although there is as yet no left-hand age-group for their generation.

I have used it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Masai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old ones, taking on the warriorhood by force.

*Meat Feasts.*—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second (*O-Ky'aker* ceremony, called the (*O-Ky'aker of meat.* Also that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The *Il Matasiana* and *Il Kibaja* age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat (*O-Ky'aker* in June, 1930); but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony.

*A man of the generation immediately older than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a bullock.*

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya



a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

*Women's Property.*—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(a) A woman who had plied the profession of a doctor (i.e. native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(b) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the women of the house.

*Laibons* (Masai, *'L-Oiboni*).—Hollis, pp. 316-320, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarise their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngunya, son of Sidai, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1922 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimeroni, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but religious and beautiful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to pose more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngunya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kaikoyuki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Meru in 1922, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the II Kitoip age-group of the Purko at the end of 1921. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1928 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, Fig. 1, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the bracelet-club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (see Hollis, pp. 320 and 330). Mbatian's bracelet-club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

13:9Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Tatoga FN26



group: Kipkoromoh, Tindiret, Loldiani, Ravine, Western Mau, Eastern Mau; Central group: Chemelin, Sotek, Kipsigi, Elgeyo; Eastern group: Mt. Kenya, Kikuyu; Southern group: Maasai. The western, central, and eastern groups are all in Kenya, the southern in Tanganyika Territory.

The Teita division comprises:*

1. Dawida; self-designation Dawidoh, sing. Dawidenda; the sing. primary here is Dawidoh, the plur. primary Dawida has not yet been recorded. 2. Chawia-yah. 3. Dumbiyah. 4. Dawoyah. 5. Bomolli. 6. Shenjah. 7. Kasigauh. 8. Chawendi.

The Teita (Taitoge) are called Taitany by their Southern and Duruma neighbours; this is said to be a corruption of Teita. They are called D-Masori, sing. Ch-Mogoriondo (= " the enemies ") by the Masai, and this term has crept into some of the literature.

## II. Masai Group

The Masai as a whole call themselves D-Masai, sing. Ch-Masaiyo.* There is some uncertainty as to the nomenclature and tribal divisions of the Masai. It is clear, however, that they are not a single tribe, but a group consisting of a number of pastoral units called B-oohe, sing. al-oohe, or sub-tribes, which were associated in major units which may be called tribes and were the political units. These tribes and their sub-tribes may be provisionally set out as follows:

*Northern Masai:*

1. D-Ahlyiah, sing. Ch-Ahlyiani. Written also Lelkipya, Lelkipia, and even Lylkipia.

2. D-Wuanda-kidea, sing. Ch-Wuanda-kidiani. Commonly written Uasin Gishu, and formerly Cross Dykins from the mistaken idea that it meant " cross (point) of cattle," whereas it means " striped cattle."

3. I-Sampur, sing. O-Sampuroi; commonly written Samburu or Sambur. Called by the other two tribes Dorobonyi (I-kor-dion-kinyi = people of the white goat).

*Central or Rift Valley Masai:*

4. D-Kisongo, sing. Ch-Kisongoni, a grouping of three d-oohe called D-Purko, D-Dalem, and D-Kaputiei-n-yokie. D-Purko has been Europeanized into Elkonyo, and Kisongo into Kisongo.

5. D-Kapotio, sing. Ch-Kapotiani, a grouping of three d-oohe called D-Kapotio, D-se-da-kinet, and D-Sale-le-Lemek. The first is also written Kapiti, Kapiti, the second is the England of the other travellers.

6. I-Loitai, a grouping of the I-Loitai and I-Siria, to which latter belong the leaders of the I-Aimi clan.

*Southern Masai:*

7. D-Kiaudan, sing. Ch-Kiaudani, generally written Kisongo, the Masai of Tanganyika Territory.

All these are Pastoral Masai; the first two no longer exist as separate tribal entities: the D-Wuanda-kidea were broken up about 1890, and lost their tribesmen, though they have now been re-formed; under their old name, this is due to the action of the British Administration. The D-Ahlyiah have also lost their land and their separate identity.

The Agricultural Masai are known as I-Lumpwa, sing. O-Lumpwani, commonly

* Information from Mr. Gordon Wilson.
* D and I in Masai names and words are the plural and singular article respectively (translate, as, sing., an). The Western Kidea pronunciation is Masai.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL:12 Masai FL:12
Agricultural Masai



In 1932 the Il-Tarosa numbered about 2,200 (3,420 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Kaputei section called Il-Degiki, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasian, and became rather mixed. According to one Ilkisonk they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were destroyed on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge near Kokwa Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert ironsmiths and potters (though one Ilkisonk here spoke in 1937). Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat conical thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Kiranga Kokwa" and "Kiranga Nyiro" in the Tigithi valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tarosa keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and moran and other ceremonies, and practise the "ime-lore" system of the pastoralists, though without the moranism. Today they have some 100,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oiburu to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Kiranga was an important station on the caravan route, and one Ilkisonk noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigithi. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[1] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tarosa hunted and trapped, using the bow, and spears of bak and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oiburu.[2] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced an ill-effect, but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gabbra blood in them.

The Il-Arusa consist mainly of a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Sonjo stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Wangonyo in Southern Nyasaland are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[3]

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

### Some Characteristics

*Life Cycle*

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *el-aiyioni*. At circumcision[4] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *el-murani*, [5] one who is circumcised,[6] and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *el-gulan* ceremony he becomes an elder, *el-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *el-gulan* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[1] G. D. Dundas, *JRAI*, 51, pp. 49-50.
[2] H. S. Lucas and T. A. Fyfe, "The Dialects," *JRAI*, 1926, LVI(II), p. 291; von Höhnel, II, pp. 146-49.
[3] The people known as Wa-Nyiha in northern Rhodesia are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have adopted Masai.
[4] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 10-17 years; Fosbrooke gives the limits as 18 or 19.

from each side tackled each other's ladies. There was then kept [illegible] ready to knock it. With Bantu tribes the Masai sometimes made stock blood-brotherhood with [illegible], for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. An among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less equals, the *Il-megeri* or "" enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-meek*, the Bantu agricultural tribes.

*Legal Sanctions*

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *ol-tobo ol-l-alogi*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 10 head of cattle and 10 goats and sheep for a woman. Fadiman also gives the figure as 50 for a circumcised man, and 20 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The ill-feeling are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is payable. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after the elder brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Hollis gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and all women, the brothers, brothers-in-law, and sons may subsequently be returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murdered send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then call the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a woman, *el-kwenie*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a man killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several people. Their [illegible] cattle is apparently considered of little account. " If a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, while their own relatives concerned.

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai and this recognition is extended to " foreigners " like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an ordeal, *el-meeek*, by eating a drug of the type called *el-gwaldi* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

*Modern Administration*

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut genealogical divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief taken in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a paramount

chief, but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact an arch thing, and the native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each division (3 Purko, 3 Dorobo, etc.), to replace the original council of the elders. These Councils were composed of Il-ayioni-ok, elders, and senior warriors; and the presidents of each formed a Central Maasi Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 40 laiboni, some of them Il-ayioni-ok. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of laiboni varying according to the population of the locations. In 1950 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into which the Reserve now has divided. The laiboni were divided into two grades, laiboni (styled olaibi) and sub-laiboni.

In Transmara, the Isiria were at first regarded as the land of the Kisonko; but since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Maasi Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of laiboni and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area, with representatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the Maasi Council. There are 41 paid laiboni.

Authorities: Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse, 1910; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communications; Hadley, 1949.

## MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

### Clothes

*Housing*

The Maasi hut, enk-aji, pl. enk-aiish, is a low structure with a flat or flattish roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or bushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather holes are laid on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals. (See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tatoga have functional traits of the normal East African pattern, (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called el-poloro is used for a temporary hut where pasture is poor.

*Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)*

Warriors wear a small cape or goat-skin cape that over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. They have three varieties of a head-dress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of colobus monkey, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the lion's neck-lining called e-mal, which has two points sticking upwards and a cross on the upper side. Warriors who wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called en-dorre is worn by warriors on certain occasions. Bells are worn when going on a raid after shaving an el-amarai (el-olosho); later, I under ele Mbori, which they go on a raid after washing a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys wear a shuka-skin.

Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt. They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and lower arms, and from time to time. All married women wear the shave of coiled iron wire, e-ramaki, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Nandi earl), and some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and such ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

101
170
177
• 640
659
659

[For Maori traditions of contact with non-Maori peoples during the "primeval age of the Maori" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

M
P54
D
P54

P54
[Ik]

D
[833]

D
[Ik]

D
[P54]
[P55]

M
[P54]
[P55]
[P56]

In these mighty surges that followed one another at long intervals, the Ideal people came from the north drawn toward the equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new Ik-Kidrac homeland, and the different shaping of their lore conditioned by that scale there appear to us today as three branches of the Ideal people.

The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Ik, more generally known under the name of Wandobebo /Wandoobeboo/ (a Swazi formation from the Ideal word Ø- dooba : the poor), of whom they form only a part.

Although the tradition of the Ik has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts of the steppes. When among descendants, livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Tswapa weakened the Ik to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Ideal, the Ø- Ikuth, the five sections of which were the Ø- Ikuthup, and the later ones the Ø- Ikuth, when it came in, to drive out the ruined east Ikuthen. A part of these found refuge among the neighboring agriculturists, with whom they merged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe; the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they evade a poor living by hunting.

The fate of the Ik, however, was not to be spared the Ø- Ikuth either. After a rather long period during which they cooperated with the Tswapa for dominion in the steppes, the Ikuthup appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the new misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the Ø- Ikthet (sing. ot Ikthet'), immigrated late from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Tswapa, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, divested the bellicosity of the Ideal. They joined the Ø- Ikuth for the common fight against the former.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

/5 cont./

[illegible] to live in one place on a tribal basis, and people spoke of el ellelt-kiwet and el ellelt-Yrdiwelt. El ellelt (esp. el ellelthelt) means killers, magic, brutal powers, and is an invective with which the Wandavilles, Yrdiwelt, and the latest blackmailer (el kawaq) designate their oppressors, the Ideal. Parlan mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be ellelk el ayda i el ayd.

The Yrdiwelt live in their colonies in more or less peaceful, subsidiary subjugation. Whenever they found powerful neighbors after their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where they encountered a close contact with the Ideal and were exposed to their constant strife, the old bellicosity awakened in them. An example of this is the population of Lakeberg /lak, lakru/ in the Great Amerika /Amakka/ and Mero areas. In spite of a very considerable mixture with Yrdelhagga from nearby Kilbeandarkara, they have carefully kept their original character traits. Their impetuousness, capacity, and craving equal that of the Ideal; to revenge, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their manner are akin to the songs of Ramyeere and texts reverse reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Yrdiwelt and Ideal is to general our task. The latter regard the former as fellow villagers, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil and own only a little livestock. They are fast one minute and friends the next. And both seek always reconcile themselves to each other, for the Ideal cannot do without them as suppliers of vegetable foods, also the landlord at the end of the eighties again raged so destructively among their herds.

While among the Yrdiwelt are not still clearly recognize their own more power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Ideal. Most of them, just like the El ellelt, roundly and malevolent in the look of the Europes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, ugly-shaped potatoes which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Ideal, they live in a certain

[illegible]

/10 cont./

000 superstition and belief in spirits are to be found in the grossest forms, just as all the crimes resulting from them, such as abortion, infanticide, etc., are everyday occurrences. But even a people standing culturally higher than the Ibonni, with their absolutely quite low culture, would never have arrived at a decisive position peacefully living side by side. The causes of shunning it were the ever equal community and notoriety. Their being cut off greatly hampered the Negroes, which is why the latter, in order to be taken for Ibonni themselves and to be found as such, adapted their attire at our expeditions. The involuntary admission into these huts often on the part of many Ibonni women and children, who often fell victim to their neighbors during the constant wars, as well as the compulsory intercourse of those who found help and refuge among the adjacent agriculturists when the periodically recurring epidemics had carried off their livestock, created circumstances that took shape in the direction of a general blendedness. To the young Negroes the free, lazy existence of the Ibonni warriors, devoted only to war and raids, seemed worth aspiring to, and the girls found the handsome slender Ibonni figure more desirable /11/ than the men of their own tribe, who, in their often hideously ugly and wild Negroishness and through the frequently total lack of care of skin and body, stand in coarse contrast to the agreeable, often finely chiseled, and handsome features and the shapely limbs of the former. Thus the Ibonni grew scarce of their blood to other tribes, and today is almost all the peoples who have come into close contact with them one finds figures which at first glance one would take for pure Ibonni.

/16 cont./

[illegible] dare to appear unannounced before the mighty one. Thus, the Mbeti living on the military station of Mbeti /Mbéti/ remained hidden during Zendeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1996, and my Mbeti servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zendeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Mbeti. By turning the capacity of the warriors upon itself in expeditions against foreign tribes, he prevents his own people from devastating civil war in which the endless frontier of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat most inevitably comes if he produces it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. He gives ceremonial opinion against epidemics and sicknesses — as a rule in the form /-ló/ of magic medicine — and orders supplications [illegible] to honor of the Mbeti god [illegible]. He reads the prophecies from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of batons. From a cow's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of iron pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he announces his prophetic oracles, which often enough is evoked to Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called [illegible]. The office of [illegible] is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1

The Mbeti do not have much to say about the genealogical row of the 31 chiefs. The first four or five names that it contains belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are Kibidori, Gwiga, Bogoyobo (Bwanjumbe), and Lwigirdfedhi. The next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibidgoro, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century; he was followed by his son Gbwedo, who

/to come/
culminated when such a narrow escape. Mbeniyas demanded their
work of workers, and they served obediently, in endless long lines,
men, women and children, toward the empty area of Kimilyo, lying

Mbeniyas photo.

Ill. 6. *Kamiwa, the present chief of the Mbeni.*

west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his
ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby --
a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank
and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes,
the Mbeni became more and more arrogant, and they extended
their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the
Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for
robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate
hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities
of Mbaakwa, Tonga, Bagamoyo, and others.

The belief in the magic means for healing *[illegible]* which
Mbeniyas gave them working help, and whose chief ingredient
quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the
*ni nyagilyaru* liana, was so deep-seated in the people /[illegible]/ that
it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/11 cont./

recovery from their pains. Mbatyan earned outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the ol gojanak and ol kibondo mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hair.

The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 30 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (ol dolganak oiserif ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

/78 cont./

714 53 [822] These consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian red, black, and gray (1).

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color. /78/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs [386] stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed [824] with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black, [239] pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

714 53 721 178 [648] [669] Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Masai become, thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of warfare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored: their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

714 531 A shield escutcheon (Plate 1)[1] may contain 1. the red warrior-emblem (os serat' onjugi), 2. the black emblem (os serat' enók) (1).

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the ornamental band (es segira l el ólo), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1. [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]
2. [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

Lib Member--USS G-S (1880-ca.1950) 1801 PL23 Masai PL23

/101 cont./

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As has already come out in the foregoing, the Masai are not familiar with a declaration of war in their dealings with foreign tribes. War is rather a sudden attack in the midst of peace, or, more properly, because, as we shall presently see, solemnly intended and binding conclusions of peace are indeed not customary, in a state of peace, which the tribe concerned owes merely to the circumstance that the Masai at the time are simply plundering other peoples rather in livestock at the moment.

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• 748

If the war concerned a distant area, no peace whatever was concluded, unless it were to deceive those people, so that no difficulty /102/ was to be expected from their side for a later attack on a land neighboring them. For this a few old men were then sent to the just attacked tribe. They carry a branch of grass (el gorjore, el gorjor = grass) in the right hand and bring a sheep that wears a chain of blue or green ring-beads, el gorondol, around its neck. These are the peace insignia (el dogirie en nanu = things of peace). After the old men have put their request before the foreign chief, the latter, happy to be able to make peace with the Masai, gives them a few old men to take along, with whom the speakers then enter into blood friendship (el nemal). Both parties, surrounded by warriors, sit down under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, closely opposite each other, one of the foreign old men in front of each speaker. Now each one makes a small cut in the left lower arm of the one opposite him and wipes off the blood gushing forth a number of times with a few pieces of partly roasted meat, which he eats. During this ceremony the participants swear eternal peace. The meat used comes from an animal just slaughtered, usually from a head of cattle, more rarely a goat or a sheep. The animal must be perfectly sound, about which both parties convince themselves by an examination of the entrails.

Just as the Masai deceive foreign tribes with this blood friendship, they have also often done this with respect to Europeans. These concerned simply believed that a blood friendship coming about in this way had the same value as though it had been concluded with sedentary Negro tribes, who have a similar custom. But since in this case it is a mere pretense, there is suggested the conjecture that this is a matter of a custom that is not peculiar to the Masai, but was merely adopted from other peoples. The author regards the possibility of a

/[illegible]/

[illegible] concluding conclusion of friendship between Europeans and Maori as completely impossible, both on the basis of my experience of almost eight years and also according to the statements of a large number of Maori, who, in the course of a long personal acquaintance, gained so much confidence as to express themselves frankly about this point. According to their view a friendship, in whatever form it might be concluded, would only ever have the result that individual persons in the service of the Europeans concerned would find a hospitable reception in the Maori kraals. It could no more bring about a lasting friendship than it would induce the Maori to follow the orders and the laws of the Europeans.

On the other hand, if the Maori seriously swear peace between the tribe waged upon lives close to them and they are dependent on it for buying vegetable food there (as, for example, in the above-mentioned Kaiwi), they unite as strong exchange 2 boys a suckling of exchanged children. After they have met all as old men, as before, and be has returned together with a few foreign old men, it is agreed in consideration that the Kaiwi chief, a Kaiwi woman with a suckling child, and a number /[illegible]/ of witnesses should come to a certain designated place in the empire between Kaiwi and the Maori kraals. At the appointed time, there will also be found there a woman from the Maori (not a true Maori, however, but one from another tribe captured in a previous war) with a suckling child, as well as the speaker, the leaders, and other warriors as witnesses. The two women now exchange their children, and each puts the foreign child to her breast for a moment. They then take the children on their backs in the leather apron and conclude blood friendship with each other. One of the witnesses makes a few incisions in the skin of the abdomen of each of the two women and hands her a small piece of the heart of a just slaughtered head of livestock. After each one has wiped off the blood coming out of her cut with this, she sticks it in the mouth of the other. While this ceremony is going on, the speaker and the chief of Kaiwi affirm eternal friendship in the name of their peoples; they call upon God as their witness and pray to him that he might exterminate them if they do not maintain the friendship. Every conclusion of peace has as its consequence the obligation for mutual hospitality.

[illegible]

/[illegible]/

[illegible] Swiss to the branches of the rose surrounding the knots, exiting for some kind of mineral water. In addition to the two points, one also finds evil-shaped wooden points; the latter are often poisoned, the former only rarely. The blows do not excite the poison [illegible] themselves, but buy it from Wandawoba, who obtains it from /[illegible]/ the [illegible] (kwa-wabwa wheatsticks) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver or [illegible] (wafimbi), which is slung over the shoulder on a leather strap. It consists of a tube 70 centimetres long and made out of cow's skin, with a bottom stitched in and a continuity worked, twelve centimetres [illegible] that can be turned up high.

Firearms, which on these slopes entirely replaced the spears and bows among mountain Negroes (3).

3. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandjaro.

- are not generally carried by the blows. Although in the border with the Pokomanne Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from fallen Askari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought ammunition from trade caravans, and the guns that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or piston, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the blows for the purpose of use, but merely as trophies. It was not until April, 1905, that a troop of blows services armed with English bayonet-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the blows province of Ki Iwaggo, and, to be sure, from the English station of Mainshi, harvest on the Uganda railway, and accompanied an invasion in the Kilimandjaro area of Bandia. With a loss of approximately 33 per cent dead and bootyless, however, they were sent home by the Wanandia, armed only with spears.

DB Berlin—BM G-6 (1889-ca.1910) 1910 FLS Wanai FLS
Service FLS
Ana

/230 cont./



Character of the Ani, compared with that of the Wanai.

In character the Ani in general greatly resemble the Wanai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it will also always appear to their contempt of the ai mas, whom they call nanda. It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Wanai. On the whole, the Ani living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Wanai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Wanai in subterfuges. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandoribo, who are to the Wanai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

Exceptions to this are the Wanai Wariwariba, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandoribo as in that of the Wanai. The ai kamani is also completely without rights before the ai dondani. The Wandoribo appear peaceable toward passing caravans and mercenary Wagogoro. When they were shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they were /236/ to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about the Wanai holds concerning their character vain, their solidarity against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the Wandoribo use the same words and formulas as the Wanai and accompany them with the same gestures.

The farewell of the one going runs aja nanida. The answer to it, adi, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Ani replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1. [A Masai word meaning "the unbelievers"--Analyst]

[NO room.]

to possess at all. The heir of the executor is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobbo never conclude true blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, the ol dondoni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (5).

1. This view is in general vogue; it was not originally peculiar to the Ank, but adopted.

As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and companions are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, [NO] the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the one entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is regarded as pori-ondgi, corresponding to the ol olchani of the Masai. If an Ank kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Mas... would

/Will cont./
never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Ami is killed by a blacksmith, the blood immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandaobo, as he was, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the blood do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the ei humans.

Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are as, and for with the payment of a specific number of beadstrings. For the destruction of a finger one beadstring is paid, for one hand eight; among more Wandaobo who live in close contact with the blood the assessment for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a far-called deep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, as does inherent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and pernicious not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beadstring hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beadstring pays five beadstrings. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his companions.

Unknown are aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, mutilations, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /Will/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ei gniatit among the Wandaobo. Instead of the manipulations with the ei gniat, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1. [ei gniatit is a Nunat word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

/Add note./

illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our conceptions of justice and our Christian morality, and which cease to arise in the economic field exploration in the common sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to oppose no pressure and question of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding protection along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often overturns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Negro largely owes their existence as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings, to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the exertion of military exercise the great protection to the victims of the Negro, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved by them, they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of infective pestilence. If the Negro, when they came under the influence of the European occupation, had still been the strong people of twenty-five or 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried them it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready to the advantages. But we found the Negro already in a condition that looked very much like ruin. The diseases epidemics around the year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Negro to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and unconditionally never famine. Hundreds of thousands of Negro, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1898 the author still found the corpses around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

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The existence of the Hawaii people was based on a sovereign power destroying or destroying the Negro tribes, which, through centuries, succeeded war and raiding expeditions, not only again and again furnished the necessary cattle herds, but also fostered national unity. The European administration interfered here and through that harbored, in the manner described above, the ruin of a people clinging with extreme tenacity to its old habits of life.

The process of becoming sedentary, the transition from livestock nomads to work-using agriculturists will presumably slowly continue to take place, but sudden enormous sacrifices in human lives and the destruction of the people's continuance. A small part -- the over-race culture in livestock -- will subsequently be maintaining themselves as nomads, or -- the poorer -- will, by the labour of agriculture, again become fast and, in enforced peacefulness, grow their small herds. But they, too, will then have ceased to be Hawaii, for a Hawaii with shepherd's staff and pipe is no longer a Hawaii. In view of such an outlook for the future, one is almost struck with melancholy when one hears how firmly the Hawaii believe in a resurrection of their power, according to the prophecies of Ishmiyan, who shortly before his death said: "Epidemics will destroy the herds, and civil war between the parties of Lassen and Zambo will thin the ranks of the warriors. Then a white bird will come from the coast, east in our land, and bring us to the edge of destruction. But after this time of trial the Hawaii people will expand to a new flowering and their old power."

Before -- the Masai tribe occupied what is now Amboseli by conquering and evicting the previous inhabitants (Hanot, 1907). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed its title them.

In the early 1900's through the intervention of Europe the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved co-settling a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes -- who did not have such a treaty -- and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown to other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Europeian administration, the Masai in the Europeian portion of Western Masailand also maintained a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances, the extremely conservative western Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country.

My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara Region was in 1956. I had been assigned to carry out a brief ecological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection (Talbot, 1956).

*194 the western form was found at Lake Nakuru, it seemingly has been replaced by immigrants from the east. At the time of their visit the land to the westward of Lake Nakuru was a barren game reserve from which the Masai had been excluded. I have flown over that area and even today, after fifty years of Masai overrun, it appears practically impossible as a route of passage for large animals, at least in the wet season.

Roosevelt (1909) notes that an occasional elk "used up" -- presumably to the Nakuru area -- from the Rift near Lake Baguti, which is adjacent to the area mapped by Roosevelt and Heller.

To my knowledge, none of the Roosevelt and Heller party collected the Lake Nakuru area. The map must have been drawn from second hand reports representing the best sources of information available at the time. It seems probable, then, that the wildebeests in the Rift near Lake Nakuru were then what they are now, representatives of the eastern race.

If this were so, although the Rift still permitted movement west, why did these wildebeests not move further north? At present the Rift between the Nakuru area and the vicinity of Mt. Suswa is hot, waterless, forbidding

The people whom the Maasai displaced to Ngorongoro were mainly pastoralists. There were also some small tribes who practiced intensive cultivation near the Rift wall and on some mountain slopes. These who immediately preceded the present Maasai may have been related to them, and they, in turn, entered prior residents. Some of these early people may still be and Native Hunters, but Fosbrooke (1948) believes that except for instances of hunting systems on some mountains, these exploitative were for pastoralism rather than agriculture. There were also isolated tribes of small numbers in the south who may have provided the Maasai with spears and knives.

In the study area, the Maasai occupation of the Ngorongoro Highlands and the Serengeti Plain was probably completed by 1850. A people called the Il Datoo occupied the highlands and much of the rest of the area, both north and south of Ngorongoro. These were probably both pastoralists and cultivators. Another similar tribe, the Sonjo, lived near the foot of the Rift near Lake Natron.

Somewhere between 1850 and 1891 the Maasai drove the Il Datoo off of the Crater Highlands and the Serengeti Plain. The likewise wells of the eastern

Serengeti are said by the Maasai to have been dug by the Ol Doinyo, and they still call the Ngorongoro Highlands "Empaya lua Daiset" in memory of the people they once shared the area. By the mid 19 years the Maasai took the first land immediately south of the highlands. Then, until about 1890, several sections and sub sections of the Maasai occupied the entire Serengeti Plain, the Ngorongoro Highlands, and the lands immediately west of the Rift. They held the land south of the highlands through possession of the riverine fly, just as they held other lands to the east and south of the present Maasailand.

During the period of 1880 to 1890 the Maasai were a prosperous tribe and they probably reached their maximum land holdings and cattle numbers. The area they occupied extended roughly 500 miles/from north to south and 150 miles from east to west, an estimated 60,000 square miles. Under the leadership of their paramount laibon, Mbatian, they raided from Lake Victoria to the Indian Ocean. Gunfuse (1910) and Simon (1967) gave accounts from the writings of many early explorers referring to the extent and effect of these Maasai raids. The raids were not confined to other tribes, however. Some of their most devastating battles took place between different sections of the Maasai themselves.

19. Talbot E-4,5 (1954-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

but as was the absolute reign of the Masai. The organisation of the warriors was much tighter up. Many pastoral Masai had lost their herds and had taken to hunting as subsistence. Some had been taken in by surrounding tribes and others taken as captives by them. A great many had died or been killed in the combination of famine, disease, smallpox, and civil war. Therefore the population of Masai in Kenya/land around 1900 must have been quite low. The lowest ebb probably came around 1892 or 1895, and there had been some recovery in the next decade. Some Masai had started to rebuild their herds by stealing cattle. Others bought them by working for the Germans helping to subdue other tribes.

It is uncertain what the fate of the Masai would have been without the intervention of the Europeans. Those most afflicted with Masai-like zeal that the Masai were recovering rapidly and that they would have risen to greater power but for the Europeans, who held them down and took their land. Those on the other side say that the Masai were a dying race and that only the protection of the Europeans enabled them to maintain their way of life. The truth doubtless lies between the extreme views. Even Hollis (1905) who was certainly not anti-Masai felt that they would have to alter their way of life if they were to survive.

On census of tribal populations the Masai have greatly recovered under European administration. It has been estimated that at the peak of Masai power, before 1890, the total population of Masai was around 40,000 (Gibson, 1963). By the mid 1930's they had recovered from their decline of disasters and their numbers were estimated at about 58,000 (Jackson, 1938). The census of 1948 gave the total Masai population as 227,000 (Featherstone, 1948). The most recent census places the population at about 337,000.

Most of the Masai prosperity in the 19th century has taken place under the English administration. In 1890 the boundaries of the German Territory of Tanganyika stopped short of what is now Tanganyika Masailand, but it was included in the German "sphere of interest" (Hemsen, 1891). Subsequently, apparently because there were so few Masai living in Masailand following their multiple disasters, the Germans created a Masai Reserve that was mostly south of an east-west line through Arusha. This division left the Ngorongoro Highlands, the Loliondo area, and the highlands near Eastern Masailand free for European settlement and displaced the Masai living there. This action further scattered the remnants of the Masai, some of whom moved north into Kenya and others south into

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12



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131 the German Masai Reserve. After the 1914-18 war the English allowed the Masai to return to most of the areas they formerly occupied in Tanganyika.

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648 After defeating his brother, Lenana returned to Kenya and in 1902 he peacefully acknowledged British rule. The Masai were still very few in numbers but they ranged over a wide area of Kenya, grazing their cattle
175 and raiding. In 1904 two Masai reserves were created,
648 a northern one of some 4,500 square miles in the Laikipia
657 area, northeast of Western Masailand, and a southern one
131 of about 4,350 square miles which included part of the present Eastern Masailand in Kenya. The Masai, led by Lenana, signed a treaty accepting the reserves in August 1904. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory for either the Masai or the English. Lenana found it difficult to control the northern Masai when he was in the south and requested that the reserved be joined. Consequently, after several years of negotiations, a treaty was signed in 1911 in which the Masai gave up the 4,500 square miles of the Northern Reserve and received in return over 9,000 square miles of land including what is now the Kenya portion of Western Masailand. Part of this area was unoccupied, some of it was European ranch land, and part of it had been occupied in former times by Masai. This new half of the Southern

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131 Reserve became Narok District, with headquarters at Narok. The remainder of the Southern Reserve was Kajiado District, with its headquarters at Kajiado, about 45 miles south of Nairobi on the Great North Road (Fig. 1). The Provincial headquarters for both districts was located at Ngong, just west of Nairobi.

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131 With subsequent extensions, the Masai in Kenya received a total of over 15,000 square miles which included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya.

Partisans of the Masai say that the treaty of 1911 was a catastrophy for the Masai and that they were tricked by government into giving up good land for bad. It is also pointed out, however, that as a result of the treaty of 1911 the Masai received over twice as much as they lost, and that land included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya. The treaty was requested and signed by the Masai leaders. As a result of that treaty, their population density in the reserve was probably about one and one third persons per square mile, so in terms of land, this treaty made the Masai one of the richest tribes in Africa.

175 Regardless of the logic, the move was resented

175 strongly by many of the Masai involved. Few of those who made the move are still living, but the memory of
175 it is kept alive by the Masai nationalists. The Masai in
181 Kenya's Western Masailand are, or are descended from,
184 those who made the move from Laikipia. They are characteristically more conservative and more distrustful of the government than other groups of Masai, and they attribute these attitudes to the move.

Fosbrooke (1948:11), an admirer of the Masai, attributes the conservatism of the Tanganyika Masai to their hardships from famine, pestilance, civil war, and German administration in this way:

> It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

175 During the German period the Masai were
• 648 largely excluded from the Western Masailand in Tanganyika,
131 although occasional raiding parties came through it. Between 1900 and 1905, according to Grant (1957), there was one Masai encampment or warrior's barracks

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131 at the Moru Kopjes on the western edge of the Serengeti Plain, just north of the headwaters of the Simiyu River (Fig. 3).[1] Western Masailand in Tanganyika is large and was virtually uninhabited by Europeans, so doubtless some Masai remained throughout the German period.

During the 1914-18 war the Germans retreated from northern Tanganyika. The Masai whom they had evicted began returning to their former grazing grounds. In addition, by the end of the 1914-18 war Masai from Kenya had penetrated the Serengeti region and the Ngorongoro Highlands. Part of these were from the Purko section, people who as a result of the 1911 treaty had moved from areas around Lake Naivasha to the Loita Plateau north of Lolíondo. Others were of the Loita section who formerly lived on the Loita Plateau.

When the English took over Tanganyika as a Trust Territory after the 1914-18 war, they established all of Tanganyika Masailand as a single Masai District. Its headquarters were at Monduli, about 15 miles west of Arusha (Fig. 1).[2] In the study area the western boundary of the Masai District is the line between the Lake Province and the Northern Province (which includes the Masai District). This line was drawn by the Germans

[1] [See p.19.--Analyst] [2] [See p. 9a.--Analyst]

175 and it cuts through the Serengeti Plain roughly paralleling
• 648 the eastern border of the Serengeti National Park (Fig.3).
131 Grant (1957) notes that the line is an arbitrary one which did not take account of the actual distribution of the Masai. The Serenget section of the Masai formerly occupied the plains west of the line. When the Germans surveyed the area they apparently thought it uninhabited because the Masai had been dispersed by famine and civil war. After the 1914-18 war the Serenget Masai returned to the western Serengeti. They were then in Lake Province but they were so isolated from its administration that the District Officer for the Masai District at Loliondo handled their administration.

In 1920 the English administration evicted the immigrant Kenya Masai from Tanganyika in favor of the resident Kissongo section of the Tanganyika Masai. Since then the Kenya Masai have been moving southward again slowly.

*13 Early in German times the importance of the
648 unique wildlife concentrations in the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater were recognized (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960a). During the period between the wars the Tanganyika Government created several nature reserves in the area protecting some of the wildlife from hunting, but not much affecting the Masai.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12



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In 1940 the Ngorongoro Highlands, much of the Serengeti Plain, and a strip of bush country leading to Speke Gulf were gazetted as a National Park. Due to the war and the terms of the ordinance this action did not affect the area or the Masai living there. In 1948 because of renewed interest in the status of the area, a new National Parks Ordinance was passed, and later, by Government Notice No. 137 of 1951 the area was re-gazetted the Serengeti National Park.

At that time it was believed that the objectives of a national park as defined by the London Convention of 1933 (C.C.T.A., 1953), could be achieved and maintained with a resident population of Masai with their livestock. In a few years it became evident to both the Masai and the Government that the arrangement was not working out. The activities of the Masai and their administrators were conflicting with those of the national park staff. There followed a series of hearings, government announcements, and interventions by interested individuals and organizations, culminating in 1956 in the appointment by the Tanganyika Government of a Committee of Enquiry. The Report of the Serengeti Committee of Enquiry (1957) details the history and events leading up to the enquiry. Further comments on and analyses of the situation include those by Anon. (1959), Bigalke (1959), Boyle (1956),

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12



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659 Grant (1957), Grzimek and Grzimek (1960a), Kenya Wild Life Society (1957), Huxley (1961), Pearsall (1957), Petrides (1956), Talbot (1956), the Tanganyika and Kenya Wild Life Societies (1956), and Thomas (1960).

In 1959 and 1960 the park regulations and boundaries were revised (Fig. 3) and the Ngorongoro Conservation Unit was created. The new regulations for the park exclude human residents and livestock. The Conservation Unit covers some 3,000 square miles adjoining the park to the east and south, and includes the Ngorongoro Highlands and part of the Serengeti Plain. The purpose of the unit is to achieve a balanced management of the resources and to develop the natural resources of water and grazing in the interests of both human and wild life populations.

Since 1959, then, the Masai have been excluded from the portion of the western Serengeti Plain and the bush country to the north that is within the park boundaries. The park boundary was adjusted several times to exclude from the park various water holes around its periphery that were considered important by the Masai. As a result the western park boundary follows a zig zag line from the southern Serengeti Plain north to the

[See p. 19.--Analyst]

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12



#13 Kenya border. The only significant area lost by the Masai
• 648 was the Moru Kopjes area. This was used occasionally
656 during the dry seasons because of the springs and good
659 grazing found there. By about 1956, however, the last spring appeared to have dried up because of destruction of the vegetation by the Masai.

#13 The status of the Masai in Narok District has
184 remained relatively constant compared with that of the Tanganyika Masai to the south. Since 1911 the only changes have been slight enlargements of the area and fluctuations in the land infested with tsetse fly.

#13 The part of Western Masailand immediately to the
648 north of the Serengeti National Park and east of the
224 Siria Escarpment (Fig. 3) is Kenya's finest game area.
65 Following the Second World War part of this area, the triangle formed by the Mara River, the Siria Escarpment, and the Tanganyika border, was made a National Reserve. This action protected the area from hunting but did not affect the Masai. In 1961, due largely to the efforts of Major Temple-Boreham, Senior Game Warden of the area, and Mr. C. Denton, District Commissioner of Narok, an agreement was made between the Narok District African District Council and the Kenya Government to establish a Masai Mara Game Reserve. The reserve covers some 700

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12



*13 224 • 648 65 square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park and including the Mara Triangle. The African District Council has appointed a warden and subsidiary staff to the area, and has passed by-laws for its management including control of burning and grazing. A section of the reserve of roughly 200 square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park has been set aside as a Game Reserve Developed Area in which no grazing nor entry (529) is allowed except by permit of the warden. With Government help they have built roads and a lodge, and the proceeds from visitors' fees go to the Masai. This is, in effect, a true national park run on a local basis by the Masai.

*233
122 every opportunity. There the purpose is primarily to
232 clear new grazing land. During the 30 months of our
824 major study period, we were in sight of the Mau forest (at the foot of the Kau Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the rains, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the trees or brush.

*13 Relations with Wildlife
• 648 The most significant influence the Masai have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through
[171] excluding hunting tribes from Masailand. The Wanderobo are an exception, but there are relatively so few Wanderobo that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest assemblages of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Masailand.

224 The animals Masai hunt or have hunted include
[237] buffalo for shields and possibly food, eland for food and
[714] , giraffe for hides
the hides/and tail hairs (to ornament gourds and dresses,
[531] according to Millais, 1920), lions and sometimes leopard
[825] for defense and for lion manes, and rhinoceros for horns and to spite national park authorities (particularly
*[233] in the past decade). In times of drought the Masai may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1957).

the Masai. Griffiths (1940) gives a more complete description of the Sonjo and their history.

648 Squatters

In parts of Western Masailand where cultivation is possible, especially on the higher slopes, squatters from other tribes are moving in and establishing small [582] shambas or cultivated fields. The Masai take some of their wives from surrounding tribes. Most of the squatters are relatives of these wives and are therefore allowed to stay by the Masai. The problem is particularly acute in the Mau forest region, where most of the squatters are Kikuyu."

*13 Some cultivation could be carried on in approporiate places with no detrimental effect to the lower plains. However, the system as now practiced results in considerable erosion and substantial vegetation clearance through cutting and burning. Much cultivation, especially in the Mau area, is carried out in the lower margins of the forests which are sub-marginal for cultivation. During the high rainfall years the squatters move in, clear and farm. Two or three years later a dry year forces them to abandon the area. Rainfall is low enough that regrowth is slow while erosion is considerable.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12



After the war the German titles were invalidated. In 1921 Sir Charles Ross purchased the title to, or a lease on 16,309 acres of the Crater to preserve the game and provide himself with a winter home. He never was able to be in residence, however, and there was a long litigation between him and the Tanganyika Government which ended by their repossessing the land when the said lease expired in 1940. Apparently a Captain G.H.R. Hurst also had a farm in the crater "for several years" after the war (Joelson, 1928).

There were a few European ranches along the north edge of Western Masailand in Kenya prior to 1911. At least one of these was owned by a Major Carnegie in the Lemek Valley north-east of Aitong (Kenya Game Dept., 1911). All European lands in Western Masailand in Kenya were given to the Masai as a result of the treaty of 1911.

At Narok, Loliondo, and Ngorongoro Crater there are District Administration offices and missions. Being a District Headquarters Narok also has a Masai school and hospital. Periodically Europeans, especially South Africans, have run small stores here and there in the area. We were told that one was at Guaso Nyiro,

• 648 near Narok, and another at Barkitabu on the northwest side of the Loita Plateau.

000 Professional hunting, or "white hunting" as it is known in East Africa, was becoming an important business even before Roosevelt's trip in 1909 (Roosevelt, *136 1910). The Mara area in Kenya was known as an outstanding area for hunting, especially for lions, early in the 1900's (Kenya Game Dept., 1909). In the 1909-1910 Annual Report, the Kenya Game Warden states,"There seems little doubt that the Loita Plains have been very heavily shot over and that game is now very scarce." He recommended closing the area to hunting for eight to twelve months. Again in the next year's Annual Report he noted that the Loita area was the "most shot over" part of Kenya, and he observed that animals, rhinos for example, were changing their habits and taking to bush because of heavy shooting.

During the 1914-18 war sport hunting stopped, but meat hunting was intensified. The Kenya Game Department (1920) estimated that at least 30,000 head of game were taken to feed the troops during the war. These animals came from the Southern Reserve which is essentially Eastern Masailand in Kenya. Because it was so remote,

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12



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Veterinary Services 1918-1962

From the end of the 1914-18 war to the present the Departments of Veterinary Services in both Kenya and Tanganyika have been very active in Masailand. The visible results of their work involve provision of water supplies, treatment and prevention of disease, and provision of some experimental or demonstration ranches whose aim is to encourage better livestock management on the part of the Masai. European veterinary personnel with African assistants have been active in Western Masailand in both Kenya and Tanganyika, and they have exerted a very significant influence on the ecology of the area. As noted above their work has greatly aided the increase in the numbers of the Masai livestock, without showing any demonstrable improvement in the quality of the livestock, and with very demonstrable deterioration of the grazing land, especially in the vicinity of the water points.

The significant exceptions are the activities of the Tsetse Survey and Control Branch of the Kenya Department of Veterinary Services. In Narok District they have maintained two small field houses (one has since been removed), a field laboratory, and an experimental ranch. Their research has been aimed at learning the

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12



ecology of the tsetse flies in order to effect their control without employing destructive game killing or land clearing schemes (Langridge 1960, 1961). Within Western Masailand their work has largely consisted of careful research and controlled experimentation.

The damage to rangeland resulting from the activities of the other branches of the Veterinary Services are the natural result of a well intentioned, efficient, but narrow approach to the livestock problems of the Masai. Such effects are not limited to East Africa. There are many such examples in the western United States.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
K. Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12



seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Aikipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakamoyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Shuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngembe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngembe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngembe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngembe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endaramuroni clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Aikipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Larussa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from N-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeju, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigiriaish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Sanya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Wanya.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
K.Kuyu FL10
Masai FL12



Supi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Kikuyu an animal called Huko (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Supi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Huko.

Supi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Kikuyu from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Somali or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the name Iregi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Kikuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Barabio, who is still alive and resides in one of Burgo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuri's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primæval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Naivasha, Ravine, Kijabe, on Laikipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Baringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Ravine Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kururuma and Karirau‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Kikuyu to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Kikuyu; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Kikuyu may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Nandi. (In colonies not in touch with Nandi-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Boyo and Mathyoya in Kikuyu

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
MASAI FL12



perished by starvation, thus feeding vultures and hungry hyenas. In places where there were no such natural barriers, and where the two tribes came into contact frequently, peace treaties were signed and friendly relations established. In this case intermarriages were one form of peace-making.

To take a concrete case, my grandmother, on my father's side, was a Masai woman called Mosana, and in reciprocity for this friendly feeling, my aunt (i.e. elder sister of my father) was married to a Masai chief called Sendeu, and was treated as the head-wife. Exchange visits were made on both sides, and I had the opportunity of visiting her and stayed there for some months as a member of the family.

In territories where this friendly relationship was established, especially between the Kaptei Masai and the Southern Gikuyu, the warriors of the two tribes joined together to invade another section of Masai, like Loita or a section of Gikuyu, like Mbeere or Tharaka. This information was given to me by my grandfather, Kongo wa Magana, who led several of these attacks as a fighting warrior and later as a magician of war.

It can be said that the relation between one tribe and another was no more or less than the relations existing in the present day between various tribes of Europe and America. The only difference is that the relations between European countries involve great suffering for the majority of the people, either through economic fights, tariff barriers and distribution of wealth, etc., or through actual fights in battle-fields. The case of the Spanish Civil War, where one tribe is fighting between itself, or the case of Japan and China, where a strong tribe is trying to dominate a weaker one, are illustrations.

The raids in the tribal warfare affected only a few villages,

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

## MASAI HERDS AND MARA LIONS

Westerners the Masai have become the symbol of a vanished aristocracy, a lost cause they can afford to keep as a household pet who has the spunk to stand up to its master.

The Masai way of life is certainly doomed. For a while it may continue, but nothing in the end can resist the pressures of Western materialism. The British have protected it by freezing a tribal pattern of land ownership, enshrined in a treaty to which the Masai hold with all the desperation of a man clinging to a raft when the waters are rising. That treaty, which confirms them in possession of their grazing-grounds 'for ever', was made to keep out Europeans. Now it is no longer white settlers who threaten them, but black ones. Will a treaty made for the one purpose serve for the other? Only while the British enforce it; when politicians of the land-hungry Kikuyu and Luo peoples occupy the seats of power in Nairobi, the borders of Masailand seem unlikely to remain intact.

For here lie the last reserves of fertile, well-watered and unused land in Kenya, hitherto protected by the strongest guardian of the land in Africa: the tsetse fly. In the last ten years, modern techniques of mastering tsetse-borne diseases, and the tsetse fly itself, have reached a point where all this land could be thrown open to settlement. The question now is partly one of expense, and partly of politics. The Masai themselves do not cultivate. So long as their treaty with the British Government holds good, they will resist to the last man the opening of their land to settlement by the cultivating tribes.

II

The Tanganyika–Kenya border cuts through the Masai's territory, most of which is open, semi-arid grassland useless for any purpose other than seasonal grazing by scrub cattle, even if water could be tapped by boreholes. But in the west, where Masailand approaches Lake Victoria, and on the Mau escarpment's south-western slopes, soil and rainfall would support a sizeable population of cultivators.

The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12
Kenya FL1



cattle. The Kikuyu and Kamba have brought in the habit of eating ground maize. And so when a man of some other tribe asks a Masai elder if he may cultivate a patch of land, and offers in return to supply maize, the elder will often agree. The cultivator will clear his patch and grow a crop; next season, he will ask permission to bring his wife and family; soon his cooking-stones, his household goods, his thatched hut are installed; he is there, probably for ever. His daughters may grow up to marry Masai men. That is the way the Masai doom will overtake them—as a people, as a warrior race.

Some of these accepteen, used to the cold, are creeping up into the Mau, burning the trees to make their *shambas* as they have done before in other places. Their actions are illegal, but there is no one to enforce the law and no one dares to do so. This country the Masai know to be theirs. If they agree to let people cultivate in the forest, who is the Government to gainsay them? Attempts to remove intruders might well be met by force, and that is a thing no Government dares to contemplate. It was an attempt to use force, after all, for the ultimate good of the people, that led to the Hola disaster. If the tenant were to be hurt, and the Masai to be angered, and a fracas to arise, denunciations of colonialist oppression and tyranny would thunder from the benches of the House of Commons and repercuss all through the Secretariat. So the Mau forests burn.

IV

From our camp on the Talek, a tributary of the Mara, Dr. Philip Glover showed us a little of a tsetse research project which combines the excitement of scientific discovery with that of tracking in the old-fashioned, footprint-in-the-sand way. A tough, enthusiastic and handsome young man called Jungle Smith, helped by several veterinary scouts, has cut traces in the bush to make a grid three miles square. Each trace has been cleared of vegetation so as to leave a path receptive to the footprints of animals.

Each morning, scouts patrol the grids with notebooks in which they enter every spoor they see. By about eleven o'clock